

10² A TRUE *Polit. Pamphlet vol 96.*
ACCOUNT

Of the

Proceedings

AT

PERTH;

THE

DEBATES in the SECRET
COUNCIL there; with the Rea-
sons and Causes of the suddain
finishing and breaking up of the
REBELLION.

Written by a REBEL.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. Baker at the Black-Boy in
Pater-Noster-Row. 1716.

12. May.

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Written by A. H. B. H.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Baker at the Black-Boy in
New-Bath-Row 1710.

12 May

(1)



A True

ACCOUNT Of the last PROCEEDINGS

A T

P E R T H, &c.

AS this Work is not design'd to give a History of the late rising in Arms, or Rebellion in Scotland in its Rise and Progress, but rather of the Conclusion and Defeat of it; so it is not to be expected that I should enter here

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upon

upon the particular Steps by which it was brought to such a Head, or of the posture of their Affairs in the Field at this Time, these Things are reserv'd for a fuller and larger Publication, which lies ready for the View of the World, as Times and Circumstances of Things shall allow.

My Design was only to record in my own Memorial, which I keep of Things as they come to view, the particular Transactions of that most remarkable Time, in which all the Hopes we of *that Party* had, were defeated, and all the Expectations of our Friends in *Europe*, whose Eyes were at that Instant upon the Affairs of *Scotland*, were frustrated, not by the formidable Power of the National Forces, which it is well known, the other were at that Time superior to in Numbers, and able to have dealt with, at least we thought them so; but by the ill Conduct of those on whose Councils all Things at that Time depended, as well the want of Concert among the Leaders of the War, as the want of Resolution to act their part in the Field. I must acknowledge it to be my Opinion,

on also, that our Miscarriage was not
 for want of readiness in the Ch^{rs} to ex-
 pose his Person, nor for want of Cou-
 rage in the Soldiery, and in the Gen-
 tlemen to do their Duty in the Field.
 That it was not for want of Personal
 forwardness in the Ch^{rs} appears, as
 well by his hazarding his Life in a dan-
 gerous Voyage to put himself at the
 Head of the Army; as also his being
 willing, if the Council had advised
 it, to have ventur'd a Battle with the
 National Army, although it was con-
 fess'd that many Things were wanting
 which were necessary to that Service,
 and which would have occasioned the
 Army to fight with great Disadvan-
 tage. That it was not for want of Cou-
 rage in the Soldiery to do their Duty
 in the Field, appeared by the frequent
 Offers made by the Heads and Lea-
 ders of the Highland Troops, who
 always press'd for a Battle both in the
 Council and out of it, and if any of
 the Gentlemen were enquir'd of, who
 could give an Account of the earnest
 Entreaties the Generals, Gordon, Ec-
 clin, Hamilton, and sundry also of the

the Highland Lairds made for fighting, and how they offer'd to make the first Charge, they would be fully satisfied the Gentlemen wanted no Resolution; neither did the Ardour of the Common Soldiers discover the least Abatement at the Approach of the Duke of Argyle; as may reasonably be believ'd by the Rage they were in when they were first made acquainted with the Resolution of the Council to Retreat; in which, I have heard that some were so extravagant as almost to lay violent Hands upon themselves. To Retreat without Fighting! it was worse than Death in any Shape; and to have been kill'd in Battle, never to know whether side had the Victory, seem'd so much a greater Advantage to them, that they could not bear it with Patience; and it was the Opinion of some, That they could not have been kept, had they March'd with the rest of the Troops, from offering Violence to some of those Leaders who carried it against Fighting, and perhaps would have forced the Ch— to have gone with them to the Hills, where they would at least have shewn the World that

that they durst Die, if so much Courage could not have had the possibility to Conquer.

But Fate determin'd it otherwise, the Orders being given, the Troops separated according to their respective Directions, the greater part Marching to *Dundee*, and others, among whom the Lairds of *Keppoch*, *Locheal*, *Glen-gary*, *Sir Donald Macdonald*, and many of the Clans, by the way of *Dunkeld*, of which I shall speak again in order.

But return we to the History of Fact; before I come to the Transactions in the Councils, and to the Measures of these People, the Relation of which is so much the peculiar part of this Work, that I shall omit much of the rest. It is useful that I give a brief Account of the Arrival of the Person in whose Name this Commotion was raised and carried on; We had long been impatient for his coming into *Scotland*, and when many had given him over, and some were gone Northward in Discontent, occasioned by Delay, on a sudden, we were told, he had appear'd at Sea in the *Offing* about the Height of *Montrose*, and had made the Signals and passed by. This News was brought
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by Express from *Montrose*, and filled
all his Friends with incredible Joy;
the Soldiers, who had been told of
great Forces that were to come with
him, were particularly encourag'd
with the News, and promised them-
selves great Things, not doubting but
there was a great Fleet with him, little
thinking that this great Monarch, as we
thought him, and all his Foreign Troops,
were embark'd in one small Ship of less
than a Ton Burthen; but of that
hereafter. He was now arriv'd on
the Coast, and when he came to the
Height of *Montrose*, as above, thought
to have Landed there; but a Ship ap-
pearing at Couling near the Coast it was
taken for an *English* Man of War, which
caused them to stand off to Sea, steer-
ing Northward till Evening, when ma-
king Land again, they resolv'd to run
right in for the Shore be it what part
it would. This took up most of the
Night, and before Day they found
themselves opposite to *Abertoe*, a
calm Night and a clear Sea; that is to
say, clear of Enemies; and finding
that they had the Command of the
Shore, so, that if they had spied a
Sail they might Land any where be-
fore

before an Enemy could have came up : Upon this Assurance they kept on till they came fair with *Peter-head*, a Promontory near to *Aberdeen*, and standing in, they Mann'd out their Boats and Landed the Ch— with about Thirty Four Gentlemen and their Attendants.

The main Cargo being thus safe on Shore, Expresses were dispatch'd to the Army : Our Troops then lay quarter'd at large upon the Banks of the *Tay* from *Dunkeld* to *Montrose*, considerable Bodies of the Foot being advanc'd into *Fife* to possess themselves of the Sea Coast ; this was done by way of Precaution, that if any of our Succours were driven to Land on any part of the Coast from *Fife-Ness* to *Buchan-Ness*, they could not come amiss ; this Caution was needful for the Safety of the Ch—, because as there were many *English* Men of War cruising, especially in the Mouth of the *Firth of Forth*, it was proper they might be assur'd, that if they came upon the Coast and were chased, they might put in at any Port with Safety, and not be in Danger of falling into the Enemies Hands. Thus

Thus we were Masters of the whole Coast for above 150 Miles, even from *Brantistland* to the Mouth of the River *Nefs* near *Inverness*, which was not only a very wise Precaution, but was doubtless the Reason, why, notwithstanding the Vigilance of the Cruisers, and the Superiority of Strength in their Ships, not one of our Ships ever fell into their Hands; for ours no sooner made the Coast, but they had some Port or other ready to run into; whereas the Shore being very dangerous at that time of the Year, the Cruisers cared not to give chase too far in, lest a Wind coming off Sea, they should not Weather the Heads of Land, which were so far distant as *Fife-Nefs* to the South, and *Buchan-Nefs* to the North, and so they should be forc'd in among the Rocks, or be stranded on the Flat Shores, and fall into our Hands.

It was many Days that we had expected the coming of the Ch —, as I said before; My Lord *Mar* either had Promises, or gave out that he had so by every Ship, That he was Embarking, that he was in a readiness, and that he assur'd us nothing should be wanting

ing in him to be in *Scotland* as soon as we could desire him ; but the Delay of his coming, the News of the Defeat of our Friends in *England*, and the little Disputes which happen'd among us after the Battle of *Dumblane*, had discourag'd many, and was, as we understood, the principal Reason why *Seasforth*, *Huntley*, and other of the Northern Gentlemen went away with their Men.

My Lord *Mar* would have it be said that we had gain'd the Victory at *Dumblane* ; it is true, we were all of Opinion, that the Duke of *Argyle* had no Pretence to it, and that at least he ought to have been content with calling it a *Drawn Stake* ; but this bred nothing of Distaste among the Men, for the Fortune of the Field was what us Soldiers, every Man was or ought to have been prepar'd for, but the Councils which were follow'd immediately after the Fight were so foolish and so weak, as evidently disgusted us all, and shewed the Soldiers that they were under the Conduct of such Men, whose Abilities for the Field were no way equal to what they had undertaken.

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My Lord *Mar* knew now the strength of the National Troops, the most of whom in that Action was said to be no more than Six or Eight thin Battalions of the new Reduction, the Compliment upon the Muster Roll being about 257 Men each, with 12 or 14 Squadrons of Dragoons, and those who reckoned them at most before the Fight made them not amount to above 4000 Men in all ; we knew they had lost above 500 in the Action, either Kill'd, Wounded or Dismounted ; besides the Prisoners which we had taken on their Left, where three Battalions were in a manner ruin'd ; so that the State of the Duke of *Argyle's* Force was this, He might bring into the Field about 3200 Men on any new Occasion, and not more ; for he had no Reinforcement in his View, and as to the Multitude of Volunteers, Western Men, and *Glasgow* Men, of which the Prints at *London* made loud Boasts, we neither found them in the Field, or apprehended any Thing from them if they had come there.

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On our Side we had some loss, and it is true it fell hard upon the Gentlemen in particular, who had signaliz'd themselves in appearing for the Cause, and that fine Regiment of Horse, who were call'd the Restoration Regiment, and who, had they escaped better on their first appearing in Action, would, in Time, have been one of the finest Regiments in the World, was Broken by the Weight of the English Horses, not at all for want of Courage in their Riders, as appear'd by their Rallying so often, and making such bold and desperate Stands, as caus'd the other to be five Hours in the Chase of them from the Field of Battle, to the distance of less than three Miles.

However, on our Right the loss was less considerable, our Foot having broken the Line of the National Army, entirely defeated their Infantry, and oblig'd the Cavalry to Retreat; it's certain that the whole loss, Kill'd, Wounded, and Prisoners, were not reckon'd to be above 1200. We had remaining in and about *Perth* above 11000 Men, without reckoning into that Number, the Clans under General *Gordon*,

who were not in the Action, and were at Hand for another, and Muster'd above 4000 Foot and 300 Horse.

General *Hamilton*, flush'd with the Victory which on his Wing was very clear, was for calling a great Council of War at *Tullibardine*, but Lord *Mar* declin'd it ; his Designs was evident, and he openly propos'd it, *viz.* to renew the Battle, to send Express to the Clans to join with all speed, to make *Chevaux de Friez* to cover themselves against the Horse, and to encamp for Eight Days, in which Time, he said, we might joyn all our Troops together ; as for the *Duke of Argyle* he had none to joyn, and if it was not a Victory now, we ought to fight him once a Week till we made it a Victory, and that if we did so, tho' *Argyle* was to have such a Victory every Time, he would be ruin'd, and the Country would be open to us.

But Lord *Mar* and his Council was of another mind, which, as I said before, caused some discontent, which was encreas'd by the News we receiv'd every Day of the coming of twelve Battalions from *Holland* to be landed at
Leith,

Leith, and from thence, a strong Detachment to pass by Sea to joyn the Earl of *Sutherland*, who about this Time had taken *Inverness*. It is true these Troops did not come then, and much time was spent in that Expectation, and at length we had an account, that part of those Troops were Landed in the River of *Thames*, and the other part Shipwreckt on the Eastern Shores of *England*, about *Harwich*; this News, tho' it was not true, yet animated our People much, and the Officers of the Highland Troops, press the Council again, that the Army might be brought to Action, and that we should Attack the Duke of *Argyle* before he was joyn'd by any more Forces; but nothing was resolv'd on, and it seem'd to us that they had agreed upon other Measures before, and now they gave it out, that they would not make any Motion with the whole Army till the Ch— should arrive, who, we were told, would bring with him the *Irish* Brigade who serv'd in *France*, with 8000 Men of the Duke of *Lorrain's* who were rais'd in *France*, out of the old Troops of the King of *France's* Household, which

which were Disbanded for that Purpose.

During these delays, the Earl of *Seaforth*, and the Marquis of *Huntly*, went *North* with all their Men; it was given out that they went Home to put their Men into Quarters of Refreshment, the Season of the Year admitting no Action, and that they would return on the first Notice: Besides, they had a very good Excuse to make, viz. That *Sutherland* having taken the Fort of *Inverness*, and threatening to ravage their Estates with Fire and Sword, it was proper for them to March with their Forces to defend their Lands, and, if possible, to bring the Lord *Sutherland* with his Men to a Battle.

But the Truth was, that these Men seeing that the Earl of *Mar* resolv'd to lie still, expecting Troops from Abroad, and that they would do so till the Duke of *Argyle* being reinforc'd, would be in a Condition to Ruin them, and seeing that the Defence of *Inverness*, or the recovering it now it was taken was not in the least provided for, by which they were, as they said, left expos'd;

expos'd; seeing Things, I say, going thus, they retir'd in Discontent, and afterwards finding it not practicable to Attack the Earl of *Sutherland*, they enter'd into Treaties with him, tho' severally and apart for their Submission; which Treaties, and how they Issued, were little known among us till after the breaking up of the whole Design.

Having lookt thus far back, come we next to the Time of the Ch ———'s Arrival; At the first News whereof, it is impossible to express the Joy and Vigour of our Men: Now we hop'd the Day was come when we should live more like Soldiers, and should be led on to Face our Enemies, and not lie mouldring away into nothing, attending the Idle determinations of a disconcerted Council; but our Joy was very much abated, when we came to hear that there was no Troops arriv'd, only about Eighty Officers, which in Truth, there was not by above half the Number.

We were indeed Buoy'd up with the Account spread Abroad, that the Troops were shipping off, and might be expected

pected in a very few Days ; that the Ch— being willing to encourage his Friends with his Presence, and eager to be at the Head of his Armies, could not be easie in staying any longer for the Shipping the Troops, but resolv'd, tho' with the extreme hazard of his Person, to venture alone, and came away before. This Tale took pretty well, and we being willing to hope for the best, acquiesc'd, tho' we profess'd our selves to be very much disappointed.

On the other Hand, the Ch——, as soon as he came to *Perth*, and had some leisure to look about him, began to enquire into the State of the Army, and desir'd to see some of the Troops, which when he had done, it was easie to percieve by his Countenance that he was under a very great Disappointment, and that he thought himself Betray'd, which we heard more of in a few Days.

He enquired after our Men, and desired to see the little Kings with their Armies, so he was pleas'd to call the Clans ; we appear'd, and he saw our Exercise and Manner of Fighting, and the
the

the Goodness of our Arms, all which he appear'd exceedingly pleas'd with, and was very inquisitive to know how many such as we were in Arms for him; but when he was told how few, he gave Tokens again of a disagreeable surprize.

The Gentlemen who came with him more openly explain'd themselves on this Head; they told the Earl of *Mar* plainly, That they were all betray'd; that they were made believe that the whole Kingdom was in Arms on their Side; that they were Masters of the greatest part of it for the Ch—; that they wanted no Men, only Money, Arms, and Officers; that the Troops of *England* were embarras'd at Home, and that *Argyle* was in no Case to stir from his strong Situation at *Sterling*; and in a Word, that the Country was entirely their own; whereas in truth, they were in no manner of Posture; that the Lord *Sutherland* insulted them but with 1500 Men, and had taken the most Important Pass of *Inverness* in their Reer, and that all Things were in the utmost Confusion; all which was true enough:

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Nor

Nor had the Earl of *Mar* any Force against their Reproaches, but the Disappointment of their Friends in *England*, which he said, had ruin'd all their Designs.

The Ch—— was Lodg'd at *Schone*, about two Miles from *Perth*, and they talk'd of Preparations for a Coronation, but I never found that he was in haste for the Ceremony; and I believe most firmly, that he was not forward, because he, I mean his Friends that he brought over with him, found from the beginning that *it would not do*; that the Foundation was ill laid and could not support him, and that he would be obliged to quit the Enterprize with Dishonour. However, the Coronation was much spoken of, the Place also seeming to concur happily with the Proposal, being the very Spot where all the antient Kings of *Scotland* where Enthron'd and Crown'd.

I had thought here to have set down my Observations at large, of the Person who was then call'd King, and in whose quarrel we were now in Arms; but I will not take that freedom here as was intended, because I know not whe-

whether it may turn to Good or Ill, according as into whose Hands these Memoirs may happen to fall. However, in brief his Person is tall and thin, seeming to encline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in Years ; His Countenance is pale, and perhaps he look'd more pale, by Reason he had three Fits of an Ague, which took him two Days after his coming on Shore, yet he seems to be Sanguine in his Constitution, and has something of a Vivacity in his Eye, that perhaps would have been more visible, if he had not been under dejected Circumstances, and surrounded with Discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the Complexion even of his Soul as well as of his Body ; and I was told, that as soon as he was on Board the Ship which carried him away, he spoke with a different Spirit, and discover'd such a Satisfaction as might well signify, that he look'd upon himself before as a meer State VICTIM, appointed for a Sacrifice to expiate the Sins of other Men, and that he was escaped as from certain Destruction ; His

Speech was Grave, and not very clearly expressing his Thoughts, nor over-much to the Purpose ; but his Words were few, his Behaviour and Temper seem'd always compos'd ; what he was in his Diversions we knew nothing of, for here was no room for those Things, it was no Time for Mirth, neither can I say that I ever saw him Smile: Those who speak so positively of his being like King *James VII.* must excuse me for saying, that it seems to tell me they either never saw this, or never saw King *James VII.* and yet I must not conceal, that when we saw the Person who they called our King, we found our selves not at all animated by his Presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him, we saw nothing in him that look'd like Spirit; he never appear'd with Chearfulness and Vigour to animate us: Our Men began to despise him, some ask'd if he could Speak ; his Countenance look'd extremely heavy; he car'd not to come Abroad among us Soldiers, or to see us handle our Arms or do our Exercise ; some said the Circumstances he found us in de-
jected

jected him; I am sure the Figure he made dejected us, and had he sent us but 5000 Men of good Troops and never come among us, we had done other Things than we have now done.

It was now come to a Crisis, and the Time drew near that he was to defend his Pretensions, and in which, it might be said, he was to lose his Life or gain a Crown: I think as his Affairs were situated, no Man can say that his appearing Grave and Composed was a Token of his want of Thought, but rather of a significant Anxiety grounded upon the Prospect of his inevitable Ruin, which he could not be so void of Sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his Measures were, how unsteady the Resolutions of his Guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.

We were now, I say, arriv'd to the Crisis of our Affair, for on the 28th of *January*, an Express came in from *Sterling*, where we had our Spies, assuring us, That *Argyle* would March the next Day; That all was in readiness, the Carriages provided, and the
Horses

Horses for the Baggage come in, and that General *Cadogan* was already advanced with the first Line of the Army to *Dumblane*, 2000 Men being employed to remove the Snow, which indeed we thought impassable.

In this Situation, it may be said the Council sat continually, to deliberate what was to be done; nor did their first Measures and Resolutions seem to concern the Grand Question, whether we should defend our selves or no? But as if that had been no Question, the Consultations generally turn'd upon the Question, in case of a resolv'd Engagement.

Never Men appear'd better disposed for Action than ours of the Clans; the Gentlemen embrac'd one another upon the News, drank to the good Day, and prepar'd as Men that resolved with Chearfulness to behave themselves as *Scots* Gentlemen used to do, the common Soldiers, the Followers and Dependents of the Chiefs, were as Gay and Chearful as if an extraordinary Solemnity had been upon their Hands, nothing dejected or unpleasing was to be seen among us; our Pipers play'd
in.

incessantly, and we shook Hands with one another like Men invited to a Feast rather than call'd to a Battle. In pursuance of these Resolutions, as we thought them for Fighting, Measures were taken to bring our Troops together, and Post our selves in such a manner, and to such Advantage, as it might be easy to subsist, and yet easy to draw together upon a Signal.

In the mean time, a Garrison was placed in *Tullibardine*, a small Place advanced about Five or Six Miles on the Road to *Sterling*, and all the Villages between that and *Perth* were order'd to be Burnt, and all the Corn and Forrage to be destroyed, that the Enemy might not find either Shelter or Provisions; nor was this Severity to be blamed in us, if our Resolution to defend our selves had held; for as it was, it put the National Army to very great Extremities, some of the Troops having no Lodging but upon the Snow for two or three Nights, nor any covering, but as the *French* say, *Sous les Belles Estoilles*, under the most glorious Stars.

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In the Council held that Evening, it seems, that every Man was order'd with Freedom to speak their Minds of the Method of Resisting, and whether the Army should post it self in the City and defend it, or March out and Fight in the open Fields? The first who gave his Opinion was, as I remember, a *French* Officer, to whom they shew'd great Respect, and who, they said, was also a good Engineer; He told them, That it was true, if it were open Weather, and the Enemy's Army were able to lay a Siege to the Place in the ordinary Forms, he did not allow that the Place was Tenable, or could hold out above Five Days open Trenches, and it would be but to Sacrifice the Lives of the Men to offer to defend it; but that as the Case now stood, that neither was the National Army strong enough to Besiege a Town, whose Garrison would be superior to their whole Army, neither was the Season such as would permit the Army to lie in the Field, no not those few Days requisite; nor if they could lie Abroad, could they make any work of their Siege, not being able
to

to break the Ground, to dig Trenches, or raise Batteries in order to carry it on; and therefore since the Town could not be carried by *Scalade*, he thought they would do well to suffer themselves to be Attack'd in the Town, when he did not question they should give a very good Account of themselves.

He then proposed the posting the Horse behind the River, which being then Frozen over, and passable both for Horses or Carriages, might either receive those who might be push'd by the Enemy, or advance to share of the Advantage which might be made; he gave them Notice of a little Spot of Ground without the Town, which formerly had held a Windmill, and on which there was a House, all which was compassed in by a large old dry Mote, and that if a good Body of Foot was posted on that Piece of Ground with four Pieces of Cannon, the Town could not be Stormed till they were dislodged; he said many other things in relation to the manner of Fighting, which shewed that he understood what he spoke of very well,

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but the Particulars are too many and too long to repeat.

But the next Day all these happy Measures came to nothing, and the Confusion and Hurry without Doors, was equal to the want of Concert within; for we could find that they agreed in nothing, that they not only differ'd in their Opinion of general Things, but also of every thing; and in a Word, here they broke in upon all they had done before, as shall appear presently.

The great Men were up all Night, and nothing was seen but posting to and fro between *Schone* and *Perth*. The Case as we afterwards learned was this, *viz.* That all the Military Men were positive in the Resolutions for Fighting; the Earl of *Mar*, two or three Clergymen who kept with him, and some others, who for the Sake of the Times I do not Name, were resolv'd not to put it to the Hazard, their Pretence was the Safety of the Ch——'s Person; whether that were the true and only Reason, I shall say more of by and by, but nothing is more true, than that we who were

Soldiers

Soldiers and Voluntiers did not believe them ; We told them we had as much Concern for the Safety of the Ch——'s Person as they had, and if we were for putting it to hazard, it was not without the hazard of our Lives; and to shew the Sincerity of our Resolutions, we were willing the Ch—— should Retreat to some Place of Security, and let all that had a Value for his Cause, Fight for it like Men, and not bring Things this length, to turn our Backs like Scoundrels and Poltrons, and not strike a Stroke for him when he was come so far to put Himself and His Fortunes upon our Services and Fidelity. We carried this so high, that some of our Number ruffled the great Men in the open Streets, call'd them Cowards, and told them they betray'd the Ch—— instead of advising him. One of them, an intimate of the Earl of Mar, stop'd and talk'd some time with our People, who indeed began to threaten them if they offer'd to decline fighting ; *Why what would you have us do ?* said he. Do, says the Highland-Man, What did you call us to take Arms for ? Was it to run a-

way ? What did the Ch—— come hither for ? Was it to see his People butcher'd by Hangmen, and not strike a Stroke for their Lives ? Let us Die like Men, and not like Dogs. *What can we do*, says the other ? Let us have a Council of War, says the Soldier, and let all the General Officers speak their Minds freely, the Ch—— being present, and if it be agreed there not to Fight, we must submit.

This was not the only Ruffle, they met with a bold Norlander of *Aberdeenshire*, who threaten'd them in so many Words, That the Loyal Clans should take the Ch—— from them ; and that *if he was willing to Die like a Prince, he should find there were Ten Thousand Gentlemen in Scotland that were not afraid to Die with him.*

Things began that Night to be very disorderly and tumultuous, and I know not what it might have ended in, if some more discreet than the rest had not interposed, who satisfied the Soldiery, by telling them there would be a great Council in the Evening, That the Ch—— desir'd all that

that were his Friends would acquiesce in such Measures as should be resolv'd on there; That if it was adviseable to put it to the Hazard, the Ch—— would take his Fate [with his faithful Friends; if it was otherwise advised, he would do as they should direct, or to this purpose: And accordingly a great Council was held in the Evening of the 29th, and the most weighty and ultimate Debates taking up so much Time, that it could not be concluded that Night, it was renewed the 30th, when the fatal Resolutions of giving up their Cause were taken, on the same unhappy Day that the Grandfather of the Ch—— was Beheaded at the Gate of his Pallace, by the *Eng-lish* Usurper; a Day unlucky to the Family, and which as it Dethron'd them before for almost Twelve Years, so it seems to have extirpated the very Name of *Stuart* at last, and left the Race to God's Mercy, and a state of Pilgrimage without hope of Recovery.

It needs not to the Understanding the Debates of this great Assembly, that I should Minute down what was
said

said the first Day, and what the second, the Discourses being all upon the same Subject, with no more than a necessary Introduction on the second Day to re-assume the Discourse and go on where they broke off.

When the Council was set, the Ch—— spoke a few Words, and they were but few indeed, to let them know that they were met to consider of the present Situation of their Affairs, and to give their Opinions in what was to be done; that their Enemies were preparing to Attack them; and that it was necessary to consider of the properest Measures to defend themselves; and that he had order'd every Thing to be laid before them, and desir'd that every Man would freely speak their Opinion; that whatever was resolv'd on, it might be with their general Agreement and Consent, and might be Executed immediately, for that no Time was to be lost.

The Ch—— having spoken, the Earl of M—— took the Word, as was appointed, and open'd the Case in a long Speech to the Purpose following:

He

He told them, That ever since the Battle of *Dumblane*, I think he said the *Victory of Dumblane*, he had endeavoured to keep the Army together, and to put them in as good a Posture for Service as possible, having two Expectations on which they all knew their whole Affair depended upon, (*viz.*) the coming of the Ch——, and the Rising or Landing of the D—— of O——d in *England*, as had been concerted and agreed between him and the said D—— of O——d, as well before his going from *England*, as since; that the first of these had answer'd their Expectation, and the Ch—— was happily arriv'd, having also caused to be brought to them powerful Supplies of Money, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, as well before as since his Arrival, all which had come safe to their Hands, not one Vessel having fallen into the Enemies Hands; but that their Friends in *England* had met with many Disappointments, and their Designs having been betray'd, the chief Gentlemen on whom the D—— of O——d relied for Assistance, had been taken up, so that their Measures had

had been entirely broken, and that when the D —, not satisfied with the Advices he receiv'd, had Sail'd even to the very Coast of *England*, and had actually gone on Shore there, yet he found their Friends so dispers'd and discouraged, that it was impossible to bring them together without a sufficient Force to be landed from Abroad to make a stand, and give time for those who were well-affected in *England* to come together with Safety; That upon this Disappointment, his Grace was gone back to *France*, where Preparations were making for his Descent upon *England*, with such a Power as should protect their Friends, and give them Opportunity to show themselves in a proper Manner and Place.

That these Things however have brought the Weight of the War upon them in *Scotland*, and not only so, but had caused those Succours which they expected from Abroad, to be stopp'd and reserv'd for the said Expedition of the D — of O —, which was now in a great Forwardness in the Western Parts of *France*.

But

But as by this Means the National Army was encreased, by the Addition of Forreigners brought over to fall upon them; and that according to certain Intelligence, they were resolv'd to March, notwithstanding the Violence of the Season, in order to Attack them, as they gave out, in the City of *Perth*; it was to be now consider'd of, whether they were in a Condition to maintain themselves in their present Situation or not, and that if the Affirmative were resolv'd on, the Army might be disposed in such manner as it might Act with the greatest Vigour, and most to their Advantage; and if not, that the Retreat might be appointed in such Manner, and to such Parts as the Enemy might be least able to annoy them; and that they might prevent the Hurry and Disorder that such Things are usually attended with, and that the Person of the Ch—— might be secured, and the Troops kept so together as not to be insulted by any Parties, or oblig'd to Halt by the Enemies Horse, so as to be brought to the Necessity of a general Battle, whether they thought fit or not; in all which

Cases they would be obliged to Fight with Disadvantage, and the Enemy obtain a cheaper Victory, than it would be possible for them to get, if they were obliged to Attack them where they now were.

After his Lordship had finished his Discourse, he threw down several Copies of the Intelligence he had receiv'd from *Sterling*, of the Forces of the Duke of *Argyle's* Army, and likewise Lists of his own Troops, in which Copies it was easy to see that his Lordship was very well prepared to join with those who should think we were in no Condition to Fight the National Troops; the Lists, as we all afterwards believ'd, being calculated by themselves for the Purpose, having so far magnified the Enemies Forces, and diminish'd our own, as that we appear'd much Inferior.

The Accounts of the Duke of *Argyle's* Army amounted to this, That he had 6000 *Dutch* and 3000 *British* Foot all old Soldiers, 2500 Horse and Dragoons, 600 Gentlemen Voluntiers of *Scotland*, and 1500 of *Argyleshire*, Highland Men, led by *Campbell of Finab*, who would be

be follow'd in Case of a Siege with 2000 Western Men from *Drumfries-shire* and *Glasgow*; that they had Twelve Field Pieces, Ten Pieces of heavy Cannon, and four Mortars, and that the Cannon, &c. with part of the first Line was already advanced from *Sterling* to *Dumblane*, where they Halted while 2000 hired Men clear'd the Way of the Snow; that the whole Army would be in full March by the 31st, and would be at *Perth* in three Days at farthest.

The Account of our own Troops he gave in to be 20 Battalions of regular Men, so he call'd those he had form'd into Regiments, and Officer'd by his own Authority, which Battalions, as he said, contain'd about 6000 Men, the Troops of the Clans which he call'd 3000 Men, and about 2000 Horse: What his Battalions were we can say little to, he having Rais'd, Arm'd, Cloth'd, and Paid them by Methods of his own, tho' we were inform'd that his Infantry was at that Time full 9000 Men, not reckoning *Seaforth* or *Huntley's* Men, who, had he made a stand with that Gallantry and

Conduct as he might well have done, would all have return'd when they heard of the Ch——'s being arrived : As for us of the Clans, we were 4000 as good Foot as *Scotland* ever yielded, and on such an Occasion, should soon have been as many more ; but of this in its order, for these Things were farther Discours'd afterwards.

These Things being thus laid before them, the Debates began, a Lowland Gentleman speaking first, told them, as we were inform'd, That he had seriously weigh'd every Thing, That as a Gentleman, and as a Soldier, and especially as one concern'd for the Person of him who they had in Trust to Defend, he ought to do, and it was his Opinion, that they had it perfectly in their Choice, either to make a Stand, or to Retreat, which they would, and that either might be done without any great Hazard of Loss or Disorder. That however the Duke of *Argyle* seem'd superior in his Numbers, and, perhaps, had some Advantage in the Experience of his Troops, yet he thought he had so much Disadvantage by the severity of the Season, that he made

made no doubt but they might defend the Town of *Perth*, till the Enemies Foot should Perish in the lying before it. He then went on to tell them, that true it was, the National Army had with them a Train of Artillery, &c. for a Siege, but that they could not break Ground, the Frost being so severe; That they could raise no Batteries, nor open any Trenches, and he believ'd it was never heard of, that Ten Thousand Men within the Town, were attack'd by but Ten Thousand Men without the Town, and taken Sword in Hand. On the other Hand, as he said, supposing they thought it advisable to Retreat, they might do it with all the leisure imaginable, leaving about 2000 Men in the Town, and before those Men could be oblig'd to Surrender, the Army might be posted in what Advantageous part of the Kingdom they thought fit.

A Highland Officer stood up next, ' I am asham'd, says he, to repeat what ' I hear in the Streets, and what the ' Town is full of, (*viz.*) That we ' are met here to resolve to run away ' like Cowards, from an Enemy who
' we

we have once already seen in the
 Field like Men. I hope none here
 will doubt, whether we dare see
 them there again or no; I am per-
 swaded there is not a Man in the
 Troops I have the Honour to be at
 Head of, but had rather Fight and
 be Kill'd; than turn their Backs and
 Escape. I beseech your Lordship's
 to consider, Whether shall we Re-
 treat? I should have call'd it
 FLEE; if forwe turn our Backs on
 the Bank of *Tay*, we shall turn our
 Faces no where else; if we Flee to
 the Coast, have we Ships to carry us
 to Sea? if we turn to the Hills, can
 we subsist? How much less terrible
 is Death in the Field than in a Ditch?
 and how much rather had all our
 People die with their Swords in their
 Hands, than starve in the Moun-
 tains? But what need we speak of
 it in such a Melancholly Tone, let us
 enquire of the Engineers and Men of
 Judgment, whether our Situation
 is such as that we ought not to dis-
 pute it; and that we shall be forced
 out, tho' our Men do their Duty:
 For my own Part, I am not a pro-
 fest

* best Engineer, yet I am of Opinion,
 ‘ as our few Cannon may be plac’d,
 ‘ and as some of our Men may be
 ‘ posted, we may not only defend the
 ‘ Town, but post the rest of our Ar-
 ‘ my so, as that they shall not be able
 ‘ to Attack the one or the other, with-
 ‘ out the greatest Disadvantage possi-
 ‘ ble, and evident Hazard of being
 ‘ ruin’d; and if they cannot Attack
 ‘ us and Storm us Sword in Hand,
 ‘ we know very well they cannot lie
 ‘ before the Place, the severity of the
 ‘ Weather will make it unsufferable,
 ‘ and they will not pretend to it; so
 ‘ that for my share, I do not see the
 ‘ least Reason for Retreating.

Upon this Speech, it was said the
 Ch— appear’d a little terrified, for as
 we understood afterward, he was so
 possess’d with secret Apprehensions of
 his being to be betray’d, that if the
 Impetuosity of the Common Soldiers
 had oblig’d them to resolve on a Stand,
 as it was much fear’d it would, he would
 certainly have retir’d in the Night be-
 fore with Lord *Mar* and others: In this
 Consternation, as soon as the Officer
 had done speaking, the Ch—— look’d

at

at a *French* Officer, who was also an Engineer, and who had formerly advis'd the fortifying the Town of *Perth* with a compleat Rampart with Five Bastions, Courtins, Ravelins, and a double Counterscarp, and offer'd to have made it Tenable in five Weeks time.

This Gentleman re-minding them of what he had offer'd, and how much better it had been if those Measures had been taken, told them shaking his Head, That he did not think the Town was to be defended against a regular Siege, nor that it could hold out Five Days open Trenches; but as it was observ'd, that the Enemy could neither raise Batteries or dig Trenches, nor lie before it 24 Hours without ruining their Infantry, it was his Opinion they might very easily maintain the Place if they thought fit, at least so long, as to put the Enemy to the Necessity of going into Quarters, and turning it into a Blockade; in which case he told them it would be their Business to destroy the Country round, and secure all the Provisions, so as that the Army should find no Subsistence, it being known

known already that they had but Five Days Provisions with them, and that the Forrage for the Horses might easily be destroy'd.

This Gentleman told them however, That it would be needful that they should come to a speedy Resolution in this Case; for that if he had order to prepare for a Defence, he must desire as much Leisure as possible, and must have as many Workmen press'd in from the Country as could be had, in which case he would do his endeavour to find them some Difficulty before they should be able to Attack the Town it self.

He was desir'd then to give in some Plan of his Design, and by what Method he would make the Place Defensible in so short a time, and how he would have the Army posted. He answered with Modesty, That the Marshalling the Army was not his part, but belong'd to the General Officers, who he knew understood their Business: It was true, it was usual for Engineers to give in an Account how many Men were requir'd to Garrison a Town after they had Fortified it;

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but

but that he thought the Case differ'd here, and he supposed this was rather to be a Battle than an Attack of a Place; and that as the National Army seem'd to resolve to Attack them immediately, or perhaps with a little random Battery, as they may suppose, only to clear the way, and then to fall in Sword in Hand, and by the desperate Courage of their Men, to carry the Place; and, in this case, his Business was, as he conceived, to give them a warm Reception, and upon such an occasion, the whole Army, except the Horse, would be necessary to be posted in the Town, and to be so drawn up, as, from the main Body, to relieve every part as the Generals saw occasion; as to the Horse, the Generals were to be consulted in what manner to post them, and where, and what Service to appoint them.

It was evident, the Questions put to this Gentleman, were rather to get room to raise Objections against it, and make it a matter of long Debate, for it was certainly concluded before hand, not to Stand or Defend the Place at all: However, it seems there were

were several General Officers who were not let into that part of the Secret, of which number one of them having heard this *French Gentleman* with Patience, yet discovering that he had something to offer, desir'd leave to give his Opinion; whereupon he told them, That when he was an Officer in the Swedish Army, it was counted a Dishonour for any General to mention a Retreat in any case whatsoever, and that as he always thought a Soldier and a Man of Honour, could with much more Satisfaction, Fight, tho' at a manifest Disadvantage, than turn his Back; yet since, of late Years, it has been thought a part of *Generalship* to make a good Retreat with an Army, and not to be forced to Fight at the Pleasure of the Enemy, which he would not deny requir'd great Skill and Experience, so he wanted much to hear what manner of Retreating it was that was propos'd here, whether a Retreat, in order to post themselves with more Advantage, or a downright running away, separating and shitting for themselves, and giving up the Cause they were engag'd in;

and that till this was determin'd, no Man knew what to offer; for if they Retreated, only to Post themselves where they might receive the Enemy with more Advantage, then he told them he was to ask where that was, and that it was his Opinion, that no General would, in such a Case, decamp from one advantageous Situation, without knowing where they should Post themselves next, and whether it was more to their Satisfaction or not : On the other Hand, if by Retreating, was meant giving up the Design, and shifting for themselves, he desir'd to know if they had consider'd what the Consequence of such a manner of Retreating would be, and how much better to the Soldiery it would be to be overthrown in Battle, and after they had done their Duty like Men of Honour, to Die Fighting, or accept of Quarter from the Enemy ?

To Retreat in this manner, he told them, was to abandon, not only the Cause, but the Ch——, who had ventur'd his Person to put himself at the Head of the Army, and not at the Head of an Army of Run-aways and Paltrons,
but

but an Army of Gentlemen ready to Die in his Service: He told them, he believ'd the Ch —— had been impos'd upon Abroad, and made believe that his Army here was stronger than it was, yet it was not so weak, but that they were ready to do their Duty, and to let him see, that if he was deluded, they were not the Men that had done it, or had any Hand in it. He concluded, That he depended upon the Engineer's Opinion, *viz.* That the Place might give them an Opportunity to Fight with Advantage, and he thought that was all could be desir'd, and therefore he declar'd he was for Fighting.

In a Word, all the Generals or other Officers who came over with the Ch ——, and all those who belong'd to the Clans of Highland Men, were unanimously for Fighting.

The Arguments for Fighting were the Subject of many Hours Debate, for many more spoke their Opinions than those above-mention'd; it came then to the turn of those who were in the Secret, to act the part they had agreed on.

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A young Nobleman, but a warm forward Man, who gave many Proofs that he wanted not Courage, was yet the first Man that broke the Ice in favour of a Retreat; but he told them plainly he did it, not that he believ'd they were not strong enough to maintain their Ground, and to give the D— of A — his Hands full, *but said he,* 'Because I see no concert of Measures among us; they that are not
' for Fighting, will certainly Fight but
' very indifferently when they are
' forc'd to it, and if we are not all
' faithful and resolv'd to do our Duty
' as we ought to do it, let us never
' suffer our selves to be brought to
' it.

Another eminent Person, a Man of Years, and in good Credit with the Army, then entred on a serious Discourse concerning the Circumstances of their Forces, and directing his Speech to the Lord M —, seem'd to discover that he was not yet in the main Secret; 'My Lord, said he, these
' Gentlemen who are for Fighting,
' shew a great deal of Gallantry and
' Resolution worthy of themselves and
' to

' to the Honour of our Nation; but I
 ' fear neither they or the Engineers
 ' have discover'd some part of our
 ' present Condition, in which I foresee
 ' we may, as our present situation is,
 ' be worsted without much fighting,
 ' and fall an easier Prey into the Ene-
 ' mies Hands than they are aware of.
 ' I observe, *said he, directing himself*
 ' *then to the French Gentleman, who*
 ' *they call'd an Engineer,* that it is this
 ' Gentleman's Opinion, that we are
 ' able to defend our selves in this
 ' Town, and in case of an Attack, may
 ' make the Enemy sensible of their
 ' Mistake by their Loss, and by the
 ' Ruin of their Infantry, and I am
 ' fully of his Mind; and if they will
 ' ensure us that the Duke of *Argyle*
 ' shall add that Mistake to the rest of
 ' his Conduct, and Attack us in this
 ' advantageous Post, I shall be willing
 ' to give my Vote for Fighting, not
 ' questioning to make them repent
 ' the Rashness of so hazardous an At-
 ' tempt.

' But because I think that Attempt
 ' so hazardous, therefore I cannot be-
 ' lieve the Duke will be so weak as
 ' to

' to undertake it, especially when there
 ' will be so many several ways to ruin
 ' us without it, and therefore I desire
 ' to ask a few Questions of these Gen-
 ' tlemen, which when they have an-
 ' swered to your Satisfaction, I shall
 ' give my Vote for Fighting with all
 ' my Heart.

' My Observation, continued he,
 ' has been in all your Discourses, that
 ' you are of Opinion we are able to
 ' Fight them in the Town, posted to
 ' Advantage, and covered with Barri-
 ' cadoes and some regular Works; but
 ' I have not heard one of these Gen-
 ' tlemen say yet, that we are in a
 ' Condition to Fight them in the open
 ' Field; not, my Lords, that I am for
 ' quitting any Advantage, and so chuse
 ' to Fight in the Field when we may
 ' Fight upon better Terms; but let
 ' me first ask, whether we are able to
 ' Fight them fairly in open Field or
 ' not?

' If we can, then I am for standing
 ' firm in the Town, to see if they will
 ' venture to Attack us there; which if
 ' they decline, we may be able to
 ' prevent them doing us any other
 ' Mischiefs,

' Mischief, by Marching out after
 ' them if they offer to go to any o-
 ' ther Part, and perhaps cutting off
 ' their Retreat: But on the other
 ' Hand, if we are not a Match for
 ' them, but under the Shelter of the
 ' City, and that we dare not March
 ' out after them tho' they should pro-
 ' ceed into our side of the Country
 ' leaving us behind them; then the
 ' Consequence will be, that they will
 ' hold us block'd up, and in the mean
 ' time ruin the Country, consume the
 ' Forrage, surround our Quarters,
 ' and at length, oblige us to Sur-
 ' render for want of Provisions; in
 ' the mean time all our Friends will
 ' be ruin'd by their Cavalry, and all
 ' those Countries, from whence our
 ' supplies come, will be eaten up and
 ' destroy'd: So that the Question is not,
 ' Whether we can maintain this Post,
 ' but, Whether we can at the same
 ' time protect the Country behind us,
 ' and keep the Enemy from quartering
 ' there at Discretion, and so destroy-
 ' ing the Country and us too? If this
 ' cannot be done, we must consider
 ' of quitting this Place, and posting
 H our

‘ our selves some where else to more
‘ Advantage.

They began now to be weary of these Debates, they found the Arguments for fighting grew popular, and they were terribly afraid that the Soldiery should get a Scent of the Design, so the Grand Council was adjourn’d to next Morning; but notice being given to a certain Number selected for the Purpose, to meet in an Hour or two after, they had a private Meeting accordingly, and here the Lord *Mar* open’d to them the whole Mystery, telling them, *in a few Words*, That the present Debates did not answer their Circumstances; That the Question was not concerning their Ability just now of maintaining that Post, which perhaps they might all be of Opinion, as he also was, might be done well enough, but they were to consider the Situation of *their Affairs in general*; That there were many Reasons which made it inconvenient to make publick all the Circumstances of their Affairs, and those especially which made it necessary to Retreat; but that it was evident they were come
now

now to a Crisis in which it was advisable not to Retreat only, but to put an end to the Design in general for a time, and that Measures might be taken to do it so now, as that the Enemy might make less Advantage of their Retreat than at another time when the Country was more easily to be pass'd: However, as this Design was not to be communicated to the Army, lest it should too much discourage their Troops, so all those who heard it would be less surpriz'd when they should hear the Reasons for it, which should be communicated in Form to them by the Ch——'s Order. He told them also, that they must agree to give the Ch—— Assurances of their keeping private the present Debate, in return for which, they should all be assured, that their personal Safety should be taken Care of equally with the Ch——'s own Life; That true it is, the Enemy would make great Advantages of their Retreat, and some of their Friends would be in danger of falling into their Hands; but they were also to observe, that Measures were taken for such a Retreat, as that

many Thousands of their Men should always keep together, and that so many could not fall this way as would necessarily fall in so hot an Action as Fighting the present Army must of necessity be; That the Gentlemen should all be furnish'd with Shipping to carry them over to *France*, where they should be all taken Care of, have the Half pay of Officers allow'd them, and be soon satisfied that they should return strong enough to retrieve all that should be lost by this Retreat, and to make their Enemies pay dear for all the Spoil they should commit, and all the Blood they should shed of their Friends who might fall into their Hands.

It is very rational to believe, that those who were at this Meeting, and were not, as is said, let into *the Secret*, appear'd very much surpriz'd, and began to be very curious to hear what the Reasons were for taking a Step of such a dangerous Consequence; to satisfy these Gentlemen whose Enquiry seem'd so just, there was at this private Meeting, as I was inform'd, a particular Account given of the Reasons, as they were called, why they were at this

this Time obliged to quit the Enterprize; which Reasons, it is reported, contain'd, among other Things, these odd, and perhaps hitherto undiscover'd Pieces of Secret Intelligence, whether True or False, we must leave to time to discover.

1st, They said, That a certain powerful Prince, who they were assur'd was as firm in their Interest, as the great Monarch whose Power they depended upon was before him, having yet, for divers good Reasons not thought fit to declare openly in favour of their Enterprize, but to connive only at their being secretly and by stealth supplied, had signified, that it was his Desire they should by no means put it to the Hazard as yet; but rather make as handsome a Retreat as possible, and withdraw as many as could by Shipping make their Escape into France, where they should be protected, &c. for that a little time would clear up Things, and that when the Imperialists were thoroughly embark'd in a War with the Turks, which some Powers were very desirous

to prevent, but which he had taken Care to make inevitable, That then he would talk another Language, and would more openly and powerfully assist them, and in the mean Time, make them as easy under the Disappointment as possible.

2^d, They said, they had Intelligence from *England*, that by the Misfortune of their Friends having been betray'd, and the Train of their Councils discover'd, the Assistance which they depended upon from that side was at present render'd impracticable; That the Ministry in *England* had found Means, by what Arts and Assistance they yet knew not, to get a Scent of the general Design, and to trace it so far as to lay their Hands upon some of the most considerable Persons engag'd for them, and that by this means, they had not only prevented their appearing in Arms, but had very much disconcerted the Measures taken for the Business both Abroad and at Home, and made it impossible to proceed upon it without taking a differing Method, and without a considerable
Strength

Strength from Abroad, which before it was hoped there was no need of; That this was necessary now more than before, because by the Disappointment above, the People now in the Government had had Time given them to raise Money and Troops, and to get over Foreign Forces to their Assistance, which, if their former Measures had taken Place, it would have been impossible to do; That by these Things, the War would be too heavy for them in *Scotland*, and that it was never pretended that the *Scots* Gentlemen should bear all the Burthen by themselves, and that therefore it were much better to lay by the Design for an occasion more favourable; That in the mean Time as they had not been beaten, so neither were they exhausted; but if they Retreated in time, should be in a Condition, not only to supply and support the Gentlemen who should thus go Abroad with them, but should, by the Supplies which their Friends were raising in all Parts of *Europe*, be soon in a Condition to make the Attempt in such a formidable and well concerted Manner, as should fully answer the

End

End, and make them full amends for
past Sufferings.

3d, They said, they ow'd the great
Disappointment of their Affairs in
England, to the Vigour and Unanimity
of that cursed Assembly of Whigs, as
they call'd it, now in being. By these
I suppose they meant the Loyal and
Faithful Members of the House of
C——s, but they comforted them-
selves with this, That as these could
not sit above a certain limited Time,
but that by the Constitution they must
Die and Dissolve of Course, and that
this Time was not so long, but that
their Affairs here might revive in that
Time; and especially, because they
were well assur'd, that such was the
Affection of the Common People in
England to the Pretender, as that their
Friends had very well assur'd them
they might depend upon it, that
the next House of C——s would
be quite of another set of People; it
would therefore be a Madness in them
to push at that, which in its Nature
was a desperate Service, when they
were so well assur'd of having the
Work

Work done for them another way in so little time; That therefore they were to quit the present Design; and depend upon a bloodless, yet as effectual a Victory in the next Elections of the *British* Parliament, when the Interest would revive with an irresistible Force; They said, the Damage suffer'd by the present Disappointment, however great, was nothing, compar'd to the Injury it would be to push on their Interest before it was ripe; that now they were in a Condition to reserve themselves for a better Opportunity, and that the principal Leaders, with the Ch——, being secur'd out of the Hands of their Enemies, they would not carry their Vengeance far upon the Commons, but rather seek to reconcile them to the Government, which for the present must be submitted to.

Such as these were the Reasons given at these Debates, why it was necessary to Retreat, and why they should neither Attempt to come to a Battle, or to defend the Town.

It was also made part of the Discourse of those who were for the Re-

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treat;

treat, That if the Duke of *Argyle*, on
 his appearing before *Perth*, should not
 think fit to Attack them immediately,
 yet as the River *Tay* was passable
 every where on the Ice, and that the
 National Army was superior in Horse,
 they would not fail to pass the River,
 and make themselves Masters of all
 the Country by *North TAY*, and of
 all the Towns which gave them Op-
 portunity of keeping open the Passages
 by Sea, such as *Dundee*, *Montrose*, &c.
 so that they would then be cut off from
 a Retreat, and be at last forced to Sur-
 render for want of Provisions; and not
 only so, but if any Ships came in to
 their Relief, they would fall into the
 Enemy's Hands with what ever they
 should bring; That during this Time,
 they should be, as it were, block'd up
 in the Town, and perhaps be at last
 forced to Fight with a greater Disadvan-
 tage; That it was not to be doubted
 but the Enemy saw all these Things
 as well as they, and therefore it could
 not be imagin'd, that tho' they
 March'd with a seeming Resolution of
 Attacking them in Form in the Place,
 that they would do it when they should
 see how easy it was to ruin them ano-
 ther

ther way, and how very likely it was that they should miscarry in the Attack upon the Town.

It was then added among themselves, that altho' it was true that they were strong enough to maintain themselves in the Place against an Attack, and supposing all that had been said upon that Head was to be granted, yet that really they were not furnished with Ammunition to make a long and regular Defence in case of a *Siege-like* Attack, tho' they had enough for any sudden Action in the Field, and that it would be a lamentable Case for a brave Body of Men to be coup'd up in a Town with neither Powder or Ball for their Cannon, or sufficient Store for any Defence; neither had they any considerable Magazines of Provisions in the Town, and tho' they had amass'd a vast quantity of Corn, and 4000 Bolts of Meal in the Country, yet great part of it lay at *Dunkeld* or *Dundee*, and some in *Fife*, and it would not be possible to bring it into the Town, or to secure it from falling into the Enemy's Hands, if they themselves should confine themselves to the Town of *Perth* or the Parts adjacent;

so that their Magazines would by this means not only be render'd uselefs to themselves, but be made to supply their Enemies in oppressing and reducing them.

But this was not all, there was it seems at this Secret Committee or Cabinet of their Chiefs, a Piece of Secret News communicated to them besides all this, which was very surprizing, and which made those who knew nothing of it before, sit for a while as Men amazed and confounded, looking one upon another, and waiting every one as if they wanted to know what was the Opinion of another before they spoke themselves: This News was, that the Ch—— had two Days before receiv'd a certain Account, that some of the Chief of those who had appear'd in Arms in favour of this Undertaking, had wickedly entred into a Conspiracy, not only to go over, and to make their Peace with the Elector of *Hanover*, so they term'd the King of *Great Britain*; but to make their Peace at the Expence of their Friends, and to seize upon the Person of the Ch——, and deliver him up to the Duke of *Argyle*.

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This seem'd to fill the Assembly with Horror, and they began to enquire which way this Storm was expected, and who were the Instruments ; however, it was not thought fit to enter farther into the Thing at that time, but it serv'd to satisfy all People there, that it was high time to give over the Enterprize, and to reserve themselves to an occasion when they might appear with a greater Force from Abroad, and be supported in such a manner as that they should not be in danger of Treachery among themselves. It is true, that this Matter was kept with the greatest Secrecy imaginable, for it was judg'd, that it might be of very ill Consequence to have such a Thing so named among them, and that especially seeing there were no less Persons than the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Seaforth*, and others of the first Rank, nam'd in the Design ; which if it had been made publick, would at least have made it more considerable in the Thoughts of the People in the Army than it ought to be, and might put it into the Heads of some others in Confidence of such a Protection, to make such an Attempt

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in reality, which perhaps was never otherwise design'd than in Discourse.

Be it as it will, if the Opinions of the Counsellors varied before, this Matter fully united them in the Resolution of Retreating; but then they had this Difficulty, That these Reasons were to be reserv'd to those few only who had, at the Cabinet Council aforesaid, been let into this Secret; and it was meet they should be able to bring differing Arguments to convince the rest of their Friends, who they could not trust with the other, and to bring them in to consent to so Unfoldierly a Design.

This they found very hard to do, for the Clans universally insisted upon Fighting, and had the Country been open, and the Ways passable, such was their Uneasiness at the Resolution they found was taken to Retreat, that they would have separated upon the Spot, and gone away by the *Blair of Arbot* to the Hills, but it was not to be done; however, several of them, to the Number of above 800 Men, of whom more than two thirds were Gentlemen, went away that Night for *Dunkeld*, and were followed by some Hundreds more the next Day. It

It remain'd in the next place to consider, not only the Places by which they should Retreat, but the Manner; for tho' in the Cabines over Night, the Retreating was privately resolv'd on, yet it was not represented to the larger Council till the next Day, (*viz.*) the 30th, *Dies Infaustus*, when all the Officers, as well of the Army as of the Household being assembled, it was propos'd to consider the State of their Affairs, That the Means of resisting seem'd to be taken away by the several Accidents of the Affairs which were mention'd the Night before; That the Town not being Tenable by reason of the Frost, and their Troops so dispers'd as not to be gotten together in time for a general Engagement, it was not adviseable to run the Hazard; That their Provisions lay remote, and they had not a sufficient Stock of Ammunition, if they should be oblig'd to sustain a Siege; That therefore it was necessary to Retreat from *Perth*, and Possess themselves in some Place of greater Advantage, where the Enemy, at this Season of the Year, would scarce adventure to Attack them, and where they might keep open their Communication

nication with the Sea, in order to receive such of their Friends as would be endeavouring to assist them, and that if the Succours they expected should arrive in time, they might then be in a Condition to advance again, perhaps before the Enemy could settle themselves at *Perth*; and that if not, they might make their way by *Aberdeen*, and from thence by *Strath Spey* into the Highlands; That as they were not in a Condition to Fight the whole Army of the Enemy, they were yet too strong to be insulted by less than their whole Force, and that the Duke of *Argyle* would soon be obliged, by leaving Garrisons in the Places as he pass'd, so to lessen his Army, that perhaps at length they might find an Opportunity to Fight him with Advantage; and that in the mean time, having three, or perhaps four Days March of him, and the Country being in the present Condition by the Frost, the Cavalry, in which the Duke's chief Force consisted, would be so harrass'd, as to be in no Condition for Service, and that especially when they came to the Hills, the Horse would be useless in Fight, as they might order their Business

ness, and that therefore they should keep in a Body, and make their Retreat in such a Manner, as that the Duke of Argyle should not be able to follow in such a Posture as he was now advancing.

These were the specious Pretences of those who were in the Secret, and by these Arguments they seem'd to prevail upon the Judgments of the rest who were for Fighting, whereas in Truth, the Resolution in the Secret Council was taken before, not only to Retreat from *Pirih*, but to give over the whole Enterprize, to make to the Seaside, and there, as many of them as could get Shipping should make off, leaving the rest to shift for themselves as well as they could.

In pursuance of this Resolution, a French Gentleman, with a Clergy Man, were secretly dispatch'd to *Dundee*, to direct three Ships which lay there, or a little lower in the *Firth of Tay*, to put immediately off to Sea, and to come to an Anchor about the Height of *Montrose*, where they were to look out for a Signal from a small Boat which was to be kept close to the Shore to receive Orders. This was executed

with all possible Secrecy, and the Ships fell down the *Firth* in the Night Tide, one of them being a *French Frigate* of 28 Guns, and an admirable Sailer, had not come in above Ten Days before, having landed some Ammunition, and about 36 Gentlemen, had yet several Things of Value on Board, and some Money, which wanted Orders from the Ch ——. It was necessary the Orders given should be kept very Secret, so the Captain was directed not to suffer any of his Men to go on Shore, and it was given out at *Dundee*, that this Vessel having more Arms and Ammunition on Board, was order'd to Land them at ———, a small Place on the Coast of *Fife*, for the use of the Troops quarter'd in that County.

It is true, these Orders were Executed with great Privacy, and not the least Notice taken of the true Design; but the Business of a Retreat had gotten Wind before it was Debated, much less Concluded in the Council; the Soldierly express'd themselves, as is observ'd, with violent Reproaches against those who were thought to be the Advisers of it; but if the Military Men appear'd dissatisfied, the other part of
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the People concern'd shew'd the greatest concern imaginable. The Clergy, the Inhabitants of the City of *Perth*, the Magistrates, the Gentlemen in the Country, the Merchants, Tradesmen, and the like, who tho' they had not taken Arms, had yet publickly discover'd themselves, had receiv'd the Ch —, had own'd him, had assisted in Proclaiming him, and perhaps sign'd Addresses to him, or some way or other had distinguish'd themselves against those whose Hands they were now to fall into; these were all in an inexpressible Consternation, enquiring every Moment what was resolv'd on at *Schope*, and visibly preparing to get out of the Way even before the Army made any Motion.

In the middle of this Hurry, Expresses came on the Heels of one another, to bring an Account of the Posture the Duke of *Argyle's* Army was in, and to tell them, that they would certainly begin their March as that very Day, and upon the appearing of a Body of Horse about *Tullibardine*, which was only a Party sent out by the Duke to View the Roads, and discover what they could of our Preparations, I say,

upon the Appearance of this Party, our People were in a terrible Hurry, believing we should be immediately Attack'd; for as we had exact Notice of their Forwardness to advance, so we could not doubt but they had found means to be inform'd of our Resolutions to run away, and of the Consternation our People were in upon that Account; we did not therefore, without Reason, apprehend, that this was an Advance perhaps of the whole Cavalry of the Duke of Argyle, in order to come to Hands with us, and keep us engaged till their Infantry might come up.

It is not easy to express the different Face of our several People on this occasion, those who were in the Secret, were in the greatest Confusion possible, believing they should be Attack'd before they should be able to stir away, and that they should perhaps be forced, even by their own People, to stand the Shock, in which they were sure to be worsted now, for that they had not concerted the least Thing relating to Action, but had actually sent some of their People away, as well as made several kinds of other Preparations for their being gone: On the other hand,

hand, the Soldiery were in Confusion, having no Orders, no Measures entred into for Resistance, the General Officers seem'd to have given over the Concern, and as if they had been to March out into Winter Quarters at the End of a Campaign, had left their People without any direction, and now they were in a Hurry to Post themselves, but had no Scheme form'd, no order of Battle drawn, no order in what manner to act, or how to behave: However, to give them their due, they all shew'd a good Disposition for Fighting, and seem'd to relish the Notion of defending their Posts, much better than they did that of running away, and tho' they seem'd in some Disorder, yet they began to cheer one another, and to say, *They did not question but they should do well enough.*

But this prov'd a false Alarm, and three Officers who were sent out from *Tullibardin*, and had been within three Miles of *Dumblain*, brought an Account that it was only a Party of Horse sent out to *Reconnoitre*, that they were retir'd, and that there was no appearance of any march of the Army as yet.

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This restor'd every Thing in Town, I mean among the Soldiers, but it serv'd to quicken the Resolutions of the Great Council of War then sitting, who having debated all Things as long as the Opposers found room to Object any thing, came to a final Resolution on the said 30th of *January*, to quit the Town of *Perth* the next Morning, and to Retreat, keeping the Army together in a Body to *Dundee*, and from thence towards *Montrose*, and after that as Fortune and their Future Councils should direct.

All this while the Grand Design, (*viz.*) of Embarking the Ch—, and such of his Friends as were appointed to attend him, was kept Secret with the utmost Caution ; nor was it less than his Life at Stake, and the lives of those who had concerted that part of the Design ; for as the Just Resentment of the Common Soldiers would have run very high, so what length that of other People would have run, who can say ?

The Council having determin'd this Point, it was immediately made publick, tho' all imaginable Care was taken to prevent sending the News of it to the

the Duke of *Argyle*: No Body went to Bed that Night but those who had nothing to remove but themselves, and the Ch — came from *Schone* very early, some said it was but little after Mid-night, and in the Morning. Things having been all ready, the Troops began to file off, and by Afternoon, most of the Forces were o'er the River *Tay*, which at that Time was so hard Frozen, tho' a Deep and Swift River, as to bear both Horse and Man.

We were not long leaving the Town, nor were the National Troops long behind in taking Possession; for Expresses having carried the News of our Flight, a Body of Dragoons enter'd the next Day; however, they could not all come together under two or three Days, and having Notice that we retir'd in a Body, and were not to be insulted by a small Party, they did not immediately follow: By this Means, we had leisure to proceed with the less Confusion, and to make such Provision for subsisting the Troops, as prevented the usual Disorders in a flying Army; for we had at least four or five Days March of them. Besides that, when they did March, their Infantry could
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not keep pace with ours, tho' we did not press our Men at all, and if we had been as able to have Fought with them as we were to have March'd with them, they had had but amill Time of it; for we could at any Time March as fast as they, and rest our Men every third Day; besides that, the Fatigue of their March extreamly harrafs'd the Men, and lying two or three Nights in the open Field on the Snow, in their March to *Perth*, pinch'd them so sorely, that they had so many Men Sick and Lame, that it was evident, had we ventur'd to Defend our selves in *Perth*, and they not immediately Reinforc'd, they could not have lain three Nights more before the Place.

We made but small stay at *Dundee*, and kept on to *Montrose*; all this while we knew nothing of the real Design, but were told, that by this March we should harrafs the Enemies Army, render them unfit for Service, and have them Cheap when we came by *North Spay*, and the Brays of *Mar*, where their Horse would be Useless. The Thing was rational enough had it been really in their Design, nor did they suspect what follow'd in the least;

if they had, I would not have answer'd for the Heads of all those that were in the Secret.

It is true, that at *Montrose*, a Report was spread about, how it came to pass I cannot tell, That the great Men had advis'd the Ch--- to go on Board a Ship that lay in the Road and Escape; the very Rumour of it put the People concern'd in a Consternation, and made them cause the Army to Decamp, and advance Northward sooner than was intended by some Hours; and to put the Soldiers out of doubt, and to render the very suspicion of it ridiculous, the Ch---'s Baggage mov'd away, and himself, with the Earl of *Mar*, and all his Servants, appear'd on Horseback in more forwardness than usual, and march'd along with the Foot; at the same Time, all the Boats belonging to the Ships in the Road were privately ordered to go off and Row directly on Board, which they did in sight of the Troops, and by this Means, all suspicion was effectually taken away, and the Troops march'd chearfully on.

But had you seen the Confusion we were in the next Morning, when we were told that the Ch---, my Lord

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Mar, and all the Generals and Officers; with several Lords of his Council, the *French* Engineers, &c. were gone, it is impossible to express the Rage of the Soldiers, and especially of some of the Noblemen and general Officers, how they exclaim'd against the Earl of *Mar* in particular, how they cry'd out they were betray'd from the beginning, brought into a Snare, and abandon'd in the Basest and most Cowardly manner imaginable.

Well, there was now no Remedy; Complaining and Exclaiming was to no Purpose, we had a powerful Army at our Heels, our Business was to consider what was before us; General *Gordon*, *Ecclin*, *Buckley*, and several other very good Officers were with us still, with Seven or Eight Noblemen, and they call'd a Council of War. The Ch— had left a Letter directed to *Gordon* to continue his March to *Aberdeen*: It was told us that there was also a Letter of Instructions which he was not to open till he arriv'd there; but others said there was a private Order to him to provide Shipping at *Aberdeen* for all the Gentlemen, if possible, and to follow him. However, they gave it out in the Army,

Army, that they would live and die together, and that they expected a Supply of Men and Money at *Aberdeen*.

All this while the Duke of *Argyle* follow'd with his whole Army, and we lost a Days March in the Confusions and Distractions, which any one might suppose these Things put us in; but we were easie in that Part, for we knew we could gain that again at Pleasure. We arriv'd at *Aberdeen*, and making no great stay there, General *Gordon* drew us out in a Line, and caus'd us to be acquainted, that we were to separate, and make the best of our Way to the Hills, That the Ch—— had assured us we should speedily hear from him again; That he was sorry he was oblig'd to quit his Enterprize for the present, but that we should soon see his Affairs settled upon a better Foot, and that he would not fail to remember the faithful Services of his Friends.

This was heavy News to us, however Necessity obliging, we had nothing to do but to comply and to shift for our selves. Those of us who kept in a Body with our Chiefs, took the Way of *Strath Spey*, and made away towards

wards *Lochjubar*, many of the Gentlemen got Shipping and went off for the Coast of *Norway*, and others to *France*; we reckon above 400 Gentlemen went thus away. The rest by different Routs arriv'd in the Highlands, and in all this Retreat it's to be observ'd, that not 100 Men ever fell into the Hands of the Pursuers, except such as willingly Surrender'd.

We staid here some Time, and the Clans coming in about *Badenoch* and *Glenngary*, we found we had diminish'd very few of our Number, and that if any sudden Occasion requir'd, we could still make up 6000 Foot, and about 400 Horse, but not seeing any Occasion of Action, we separated for a Time, till hearing that the Duke of *Argyle* resolv'd to pursue us thro' the Highlands with Fire and Sword, upon which the Earl of *Seaforth*, who had, tho' too late, return'd to his first Measures, sent to us, that he would joyn us, and Sir *Donald Mac Donald* the like, with whom we retir'd farther into the Hills, and what happen'd to us afterwards I shall relate, if Fate permits, when it is all over.

F I N I S.



